1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba



Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

## Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makaundre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba



canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

Tui Ongea wiri kata: The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau sàka i thama a latha. Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*).

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha. Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6



Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants, the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

## Fulanga

Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.